

Thoughts on Emancipation—No. 14.

There are other quotations which I wish to make from Senator Underwood's "Colonization Address." He employs this language: "It has lately been a favored opinion of the floor of Congress, that a State where negro slavery predominates, was not fitted for carrying on manufactures, because of the nature of slave labor; and, therefore, it was contended, that the policy of the government in protecting the manufacturer against foreign competition would operate oppressively upon the people of the South, inasmuch as they were not manufacturers, and would never be, owing to the character of the population, and the nature of the labor employed by them. It is not my intention to inquire into the truth of the position, or to meddle with the political doctrines of the day. I have alluded to the opinion thus expressed, for the purpose of deducing therefrom, by conceding its truth, at least to some extent, another evil of no ordinary character, growing out of the position. The opinion advanced, is based on the concession that a slaveholding people are not capable of producing within themselves all the essential comforts, much less the elegancies and luxuries of life. The consequence is, that slaveholders are compelled to look to other nations for a supply of those articles which require skill and industry on the part of the manufacturer in their fabrication. This is a volume in a sentence against negro slavery. It proves that the slaveholding States will forever remain dependent upon the non-slaveholding States, or on foreign nations, for articles of taste or dress, and furniture, and equipment, and indeed, for every costly article of necessity."

The slaveholding States are, therefore, exactly suited to occupy a colonial condition, looking to the mother country for supplies. True independence they cannot feel, because of their incapacity to supply their own reasonable wants," pp. 14, 15.

If a Northern man should use such language as this in reference to the slave States, it would be considered, by many, as a decided approximation to slander, if not the thing itself, but he who expresses himself thus in a Kentuckyian. He is a man whose opinions are entitled to profound consideration—a man whom the people delight to honor—

Well, fellow-citizens, what say you with regard to the "colonial condition" referred to? Do you not know that the slave States sustain a relation to the free States which is not inappropriately termed colonial? Is it not mortifying that a sacred respect for truth has compelled a gentleman of distinction to admit that the slave States are incapable of supplying "their own reasonable wants," and that they "cannot feel true independence" even if they were not true; but they are true, and their truth is better adapted to excite feelings of shame than those of indignation. Ah, Kentucky! I blush for thee. Thy soil should never have been trodden by the foot of a slave. The right of one man to hold property in another should never have been recognized by thy laws. Thine should have been the land of liberty.

But the evil of slavery is among us, and what shall we do? To conclude that nothing can be done, would be inglorious dependency. Something can be done—something must be done. The power to render Kentucky a free State resides with the people. The people doubtless intend having a new Constitution, and how easy will it be to insert in that Constitution a clause providing for emancipation. Shall it be done? Rise up, fellow-citizens, in your majesty and decree its accomplishment. Yours is the glorious prerogative of giving liberty to the captive. Yours, too, is the fearful prerogative of transmitting the evil of slavery to posterity. Surely the people will be for liberty and independence. Surely they will sever their colonial connection with the free States by becoming free themselves. If they do not, it will doubtless be because there are men of influence in the State whose language is—"The Emancipation effort is premature—nothing can now be done." May this chilling sentiment be expelled from every heart.

A SOUTHERN KENTUCKIAN.

The Beginning.

The National Intelligencer of the 29th, contains the speech of Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina. We copy a part of it. The readers of this paper, and those acquainted with its editor, will know that the main views presented in the extract before have often been urged by us. We were glad to find them presented by a Southern member of Congress, and think they should be widely spread in the South. Both of the leading parties in the mid-slave States are interested in this. They are interested morally; for the truth should be known. They are interested politically; for as success is won upon the pro-slavery issue, so will they be kept down, unless the leaders are content "to play second fiddle" to ultra men of the perpetuators' school.

Mr. Clingman speaks plainly, more so than we had supposed he could or would. He is in error in several particulars. He is untrue we think, in resorting to abuse of any class; we dissent too, from many of his views wholly. But he is a politician; and this is the beginning, when the ear of the South is open, and its eye clear; it will hear and see more, and then it will be prepared to do justice to all. Declaring the North to have been the first agitator of the slavery question, Mr. Clingman says—

The next effort to connect this question with party politics, I am, as a Southern man, Mr. Chairman, sorry to be compelled to say, came from the South. In speaking of this and some subsequent events, I regret to feel obliged to allude to matters connected to some extent with political movements of our own day; I shall not, however, speak of these things as a partisan. I do not intend to make a single remark offensive to any friend of the existing constitution of the United States. I shall only allude to some great facts as are necessary to be seen to enable the public to form a correct judgment in relation to the question. This is due to truth, and to the magnitude of the issues at stake, and I intend, as far as I am able, to do justice to the

question. The Southern States, being in the majority, were not able to make any successful aggressive attacks upon the North in relation to this subject. The South, in its position of simple one of defence, and the guarantee of the constitution, and the just sentiments of the body of the people at the North were simply sufficient to enable us to sustain that position.

At the time of the growing out of Nullification had been satisfactorily settled, there was a general disposition both at the South and in the North to bury all sectional and local all feelings and differences. Unfortunately, however, for the repose of the country, Mr. Calhoun, who had been a prominent actor on the side of nullification, found himself uncomfortable in his then position. The majorities of every one of the Southern States were not only exposed to him politically, but viewed him with suspicion and distrust. Being ambitious of popularity and influence, he sought to restore himself to the confidence of the South in the first place, and seized upon the slavery question as the means to effect that end. He professed to feel great dread lest the North should take steps in contravention of our rights, and to desire only to put the South on her guard against the imminent danger which was threatening her. He only wished to produce agitation enough to waste the South, through every body well knew that there was, in relation to this subject, no division at the North. Neither he, nor his ulterior views upon the integrity of the Union, it is not my purpose to inquire; I am only looking at acts, not inquiring into motives. The former obviously looked to the creation of a political party, and the latter to the destruction of the Union.

The United States Telegraph, edited by John Green, shorn of its former strength and influence, was then only known as its origin. Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, in March, 1850, that Congress was agitated, the editor of the Telegraph, who had put an end to the painful excitement growing out of nullification, when there was a general disposition throughout the land to enjoy repose, to maintain agitation, the editor of the paper began the publication of a series of inflammatory articles. He called upon the "South to awake, to arouse to a sense of her danger." The North, he said, had "been favored by the South," and that the "South" was "the cause of the North's misfortune." He declared that the whole North was ungodly, and preparing itself for a crusade against the South. He exhorted the South to "take up arms," and to "republish every abolition document as a traitor to the South." He exhorted the South to "take up arms," and to "republish every abolition document as a traitor to the South." He exhorted the South to "take up arms," and to "republish every abolition document as a traitor to the South."

Under the new principles of the then Administration, he said that they were preparing to liberate the slaves. He searched the whole country over and republished every abolition document as a traitor to the South. He exhorted the South to "take up arms," and to "republish every abolition document as a traitor to the South." He exhorted the South to "take up arms," and to "republish every abolition document as a traitor to the South."

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